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AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.

NEW SERIES, No. 24.

DECEMBER, 1893.

STATISTICAL DATA FOR THE STUDY OF THE ASSIMILATION OF RACES AND NATIONALI- TIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

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In the philosophy of history, and in the more modern science of politics, we meet constantly with references to the influence of race and nationality on the institutions and history of certain peoples. The inference seems to be that certain institutions are due to the character or peculiarities of certain races; for instance, that local self-government, whether found in England, in the United States, in Canada, in Australia, or in the Cape Colony, may safely be ascribed to the influence of the Anglo-Saxons.

This principle is based upon the evidence of history and the comparative study of institutions. The evidence, however, is necessarily of a vague and general character. It consists mainly in the fact that we find people going out from the same mother-land carrying with them and perpetuating the same general form of institution. But it is impossible to say exactly how much the institutions are really due to the character of the people, and how much they are simply manifestations of the same social circumstances.

A similar lack of precision but confidence in generalization is seen in the customary historical analysis of the mixing of two races. Certain national habits and customs are attributed to the one race, and certain ones to the other race. Sometimes there is a division of the social organization, some institutions, it being asserted, being due to one race, and certain other institutions to the other. But the distance of these events, and the lack of exact information as to the number and distribution of the population, make any close analysis of the influence of national characteristics impossible.

In modern times the remarkable influx of men of different nationalities and races into the United States, and their settling side by side, suggests the inquiry whether we are not in a position to analyze to better advantage than ever before the effect of race character upon institutions and of races upon each other. The advantages that we enjoy for this study at the present time are three-fold:—

(1) The nations of Europe during the last fifteen hundred years have by constant rivalry and contest developed real national characteristics which they bring with them to America. (2) In America these different nationalities are subjected to the same conditions, and occupy the same position of equality. Each nationality, therefore, has a chance to make its characteristic dominant. (3) We have a statistical basis for this study in the census enumeration of persons of foreign birth and of foreign parentage, and their distribution.

The purpose of this paper is to determine the statistical data which bear upon these questions, and their respective validity. The ultimate purpose of the whole inquiry is to determine whether the controlling factors in the resultant of the mixture of different nationalities or races are: (1) Race character, (2) physical environment, or (3) social influences.

In this brief synopsis it is impossible to go into all the details, but the general course of the inquiry is as follows:—

We must conceive of the history of the United States as a

gradual but continuous process of mixture and assimilation of men of different races and nationalities. The process is not yet complete, and it is due to this very fact that we are still able to analyze and to study it. For our statistics show us sections of the population composed in varying proportions of men of different nationalities; and our study of institutions shows us the institutions belonging to these same populations. By comparison of the likenesses or differences between the two, we may detect variations which may be ascribed to the influence of race.

We must remark, however, that in the history of the population of the United States it is necessary to make allowance for two great influences which have always been present, and which at the beginning were quite overwhelming in giving an impress to the colonists from whatever nationality they may have come. The first of these was the effect of settlement in an entirely new country, so far from the mother-country as to be practically free from her influence, and so exposed to danger that it demanded extraordinary courage and self-reliance. Here was an influence of environment demanding the development of certain qualities at all cost, even on penalty of annihilation. With the extension of colonization westward the same qualities were demanded, and have even in recent times been made manifest in the mining camps, and on the cattle ranges of the far West, just as they were in the earliest settlements.

The second influence, and one which has been permanent and powerful, is that of established institutions. Owing to the fact that the majority of the early settlers were English, and that the immigration at first was extremely moderate, time was given to fix the institutions on the English model. Later immigration from many different nations has been received into the mould thus prepared, and, not having the cohesion necessary for separate existence, has taken on this form. The intermixture of races caused by the immigration of the nineteenth century, unlike that of former

times, has not been due to a war of nationalities ; it has been the absorption by a nationality of individuals from other nations. It has been an unequal contest of the individual immigrants against powerfully established national customs and firmly rooted institutions. This influence became especially powerful with the establishment of our national government, and has remained powerful ever since.

Such being the great controlling influences which have tended to keep all the elements introduced into this country within the bounds, so to speak, of American development, we may ask what movement has been going on within these limits. This movement, in my opinion, may be studied under three aspects.

There has been, in the first place, an assimilation, an intermixture of the natives (first comers) and the foreigners (late comers), which has resulted in a population unlike either the native-born American, or the foreign born of any one nationality.

In the second place, there may have been a change in the character of the foreign-born element, owing to its subjection to new influences.

In the third place, there may have been direct influence exerted on the native character by the presence of the new foreign element. The question now is whether we can get any statistical data enabling us to determine the strength of these three influences.

INFLUENCES TENDING TO ASSIMILATE THE FOREIGN AND THE NATIVE ELEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES.

The problem we have before us here is to determine whether the conditions now prevailing in the population of the United States are favorable to assimilation ; how far the process has probably gone ; and whether we can distinguish the results of the process.

Our first step is to determine the elements of the popula-

tion. For this purpose the Eleventh Census gives us the following classification :—

TABLE I.—POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES ACCORDING TO COLOR, BIRTH-PLACE, AND PARENTAGE.

Total population.....	62,622,250	100.00 per cent.
Colored population.....	7,638,360	12.20 “
Native White, native parents.....	34,358,348	54.87 “
Native White, foreign parents.....	11,503,675	18.37 “
Foreign White.....	9,121,867	14.56 “
Total of last two.....	20,625,542	32.93 “

We have here four different elements entering into the population of the United States. The native Americans, that is, the Native Whites, whose parents are native born, number a little over one-half of the total population. This, indeed, carries us back only one generation. The grandparents of these persons may have been, and probably were, in many cases, foreign born, so that it is safe to say that less than one-half of the people of the United States are descendants of the whites who were here at the beginning of this century. Upon this native American element is imposed three elements different either in race, or in birth-place, or in parentage. The first is the colored, 12.2 per cent of the total population, composed principally of negroes. They constitute a peculiar element in the American population, the importance of which is very great, but whose study differs from that of the foreign element for two reasons, viz., that color seems to be an effectual hindrance to marriage with the whites, and thus no amalgamation of blood will ever be possible; and their previous history gives them a peculiar position in American civilization. They are in many respects an inferior race, but they are native-born Americans, and the only civilization they know is American. Hence, they are not so much an alien element as a peculiar one, separated from the rest of the community by an ineradicable mark, and yet inseparably bound to the community.

The second element, 14.56 per cent of the whole, is com-

posed of white persons born abroad, that is, the survivors of the immigrants to this country. This is the element through whom the direct foreign influence, whether for good or for evil, upon the institutions and the people of this country is exercised. It is, therefore, extremely important to know what and how great this influence is. This is properly the question of the direct effect of immigration upon the United States, and will not be entered upon here. For our purpose it is important to know whether this element, foreign by birth, yields to the dissolving influence of American life, or whether it remains alien in character and influence.

The third element is constituted of native white persons whose parents were foreign born. They may be called the second generation of the immigrants. It is evident that there may be, and probably is, an important difference between these last two classes. The native-born whites of foreign parentage are not to be regarded entirely as foreigners. Born on this soil, reared in our community, educated in the public schools, they lose the quality of foreigners and acquire the characteristics of natives. It is true that where they are massed together this does not always happen, for they may then retain a foreign language and all the habits of their foreign parentage. But it is evident that unless thus massed the new generation will tend to disintegrate and assimilate itself more readily to the native Americans than did the original foreign-born ancestors.

The relative proportion of these three elements in the white population gives us an important indication of the influence of immigration in each state. For instance, in New England we have the following contrasts :—

TABLE II.—POPULATION OF MAINE AND OF MASSACHUSETTS.

	Maine.	Massachusetts.
Native Whites, native parents.....	76.75 per cent.	42.67 per cent.
Foreign-born Whites.....	11.90 “	29.19 “
Native Whites, foreign parents.	11.17 “	27.03 “

We have here a very marked difference in the character of the population of two New England states. The problem of assimilating the foreign element would seem to be much more difficult in the case of Massachusetts than in the case of Maine. So, also, if difference in nationality has a very marked influence on institutions, one would expect to find the institutions and the legislation of the two states very different. These comparisons between neighboring states, or between different sections of the same state, might be carried out indefinitely, and I believe would be fruitful of results.

A second contrast seems to me even more important. This is the relative proportion in different communities of the second generation of immigrants to the first. It must be conceded that it is the children of the immigrants whom we expect to become fully Americanized. Where, therefore, this second generation is already large compared with the first, we may say that the process of assimilation is already begun, and has a good basis to work upon. On the other hand, where the foreign element is still composed mainly of the original immigrants, then we may say that the task of assimilation is still before us. In order to measure the relative strength of the second generation and the first, I have taken the proportion of native whites of foreign parents to the foreign-born whites in the principal states of the North Atlantic and the North Central divisions. The results are as follows:—

TABLE III.—PROPORTION OF NATIVE WHITES OF FOREIGN PARENTAGE TO FOREIGN-BORN WHITES.

The United States, . . .	126.11	Native Whites, Foreign Parents, to 100 Foreign Whites.					
North Atlantic Division, .	112.40	"	"	"	"	"	"
Maine,	93.86	"	"	"	"	"	"
New Hampshire, . . .	69.27	"	"	"	"	"	"
Vermont,	141.17	"	"	"	"	"	"
Massachusetts,	92.79	"	"	"	"	"	"
Rhode Island,	88.92	"	"	"	"	"	"
Connecticut,	105.38	"	"	"	"	"	"
New York,	117.35	"	"	"	"	"	"
New Jersey,	113.38	"	"	"	"	"	"
Pennsylvania,	126.43	"	"	"	"	"	"

North Central Division, .	138.35	Native Whites, Foreign Parents, to 100 Foreign Whites.						
Ohio,	172.65	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Indiana,	207.34	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Illinois,	124.23	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Michigan,	113.29	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Wisconsin,	140.04	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Minnesota,	110.93	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Iowa,	158.42	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Missouri,	186.82	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
North Dakota,	77.87	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
South Dakota,	120.22	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Nebraska,	123.82	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Kansas,	160.26	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

The results of this comparison are in some cases surprising. In most of the states the native whites of foreign parents are more numerous than the foreign born, that is, the second generation is more numerous than the first. This is true even of such states as Wisconsin and Minnesota, which we think of particularly as peopled by immigrants. On the other hand, in four of the New England states the second generation is not as numerous as the first. This seems to me to indicate that the eastern states have a more difficult task before them than the states of the northwest. Comparison between different states may be carried out indefinitely.

Having thus defined the relative proportions of the elements to be assimilated in the different parts of the United States, the next question is, what effect those influences which tend towards assimilation will have upon these elements, and with what prospect of success.

There are three forces tending towards assimilation: Inter-marriage, common-school education, and the exercise of political rights.

Inter-Marriage.

Assimilation by inter-marriage is the natural way of welding diverse nationalities or races into one nation. Thereby is brought about an actual intermixture of blood, and a community of customs and habits of life, which efface any previous differences. In course of time this assimilation will undoubtedly take place in the United States among the

foreign born whites, for there are no particularly strong national prejudices to be overcome, and the second and third generations will feel themselves more American than anything else. It is improbable that we shall ever be able to trace this statistically, for all these persons will be classified as native born, and the distinction of parentage will at best be carried back only one generation. But it is principally in the second and third generation that we are to seek this amalgamation by inter-marriage of Americans with persons of other nationality; for the immigrants who come here are either already married, or will naturally marry persons of the same race with whom they associate, and to whom they are drawn by language or by acquaintanceship.

The inquiry in regard to the parentage of persons shows us a certain number of mixed parentage. The Tenth Census made the interesting deduction that where a nationality was numerously represented in a locality there was little tendency for its members to marry natives or persons of another nationality. But where a nationality was not numerously represented there was a much greater tendency to marry with others. This deduction was confirmed by the Massachusetts Census of 1885, and the Eleventh Census will give us further opportunity to test it. It seems probable, however, that amalgamation by marriage will not be for the first two generations an assimilating force of any great importance.

Common-School Education.

This has always been regarded in the United States as perhaps the most important influence in converting the immigrants, many of them uneducated, some of them not even speaking the English language, into good American citizens.

The question for us is to determine statistically how far the foreign elements are receptive to this influence, and what the result has been. I shall be able barely to enumerate the different lines of inquiry.

The proportion of the immigrants who already speak Eng-

lish is important, for it is evident that they can more readily take advantage of our educational facilities than those who speak a foreign language. Out of 15,427,657 immigrants who arrived here from 1820 to 1890 about 40 per cent were put down as coming from Great Britain and Ireland, while 6.79 were put down as coming from British North America. This proportion of English-speaking immigrants is decreasing. In 1891 the proportion of immigrants from Great Britain and Ireland was less than 22 per cent of the total, and the immigrants from British North America overland were no longer reported.

A second fact of importance is whether the immigrants come from a country where the greater portion of the people have already received common-school education. In this respect we may contrast the Germans, Swedes, and Norwegians with the Italians, Hungarians, and Russians.

But a more important consideration seems to me to be whether the foreign element is composed of immigrants who are already too old to come under the influence of our education, or of the second generation who have been in our schools, or are in them now. The first element is represented by the 8,332,072 foreign-born persons in the United States above the school age. The second element is represented by the 11,503,675 native whites of foreign parentage who either have had or are now having the opportunity of education here. To these must be added the 917,475 foreign-born persons still of school age, making 12,521,150. This element I designate as the schooled and schoolable element. It is to be contrasted with the 8,332,072 unschooled, that is, who have never been submitted to the influence of education in this country. This classification is not applicable, of course, to individual cases, but it will give us a general notion of how far the foreign elements are capable of being influenced by our common-school system.

If we represent the foreign element beyond the school age by 100, the strength of the schooled and schoolable will be

represented by 151.39. The proportion is widely different in different parts of the country, and represents the greatest variety of problems offered by the presence of the foreign born. The general figure would seem to show that the foreign element is in a controllable position, a position where we can bring the influence of our educational system to bear upon it. The comparison of different states and different sections may be followed out as under the previous question.

The direct task imposed upon different states in the matter of education is shown by the total number of children of school age classified as of foreign birth, of native birth and foreign parentage, and of native birth, native parentage. The first element would seem to offer the greatest difficulty, and the last element the least.

The success of the states in meeting this demand is shown by the total enrollment of children in schools, which, according to the last census, was 14,373,670 out of a total of 18,543,207 children of 5 to 17 years of age.

The final success of our educational system must be shown by the statistics of illiteracy. Those for Massachusetts are very interesting as showing that illiteracy in that state is due almost entirely to the presence of the foreign born. They also show a large rate of illiteracy among the native born of foreign parents. This, however, is probably due to the large number of homeless and pauper children in that class. Altogether, education seems to be reaching the second generation.

The Influence of Political Life.

There is no doubt that the exercise of political rights has had a powerful effect in assimilating the men of different nationalities and making them feel like one nation. The policy of the United States in conferring upon persons, coming to this country with the intention of remaining, the same political rights which the native born enjoy has been founded not only upon the doctrine of the equality of men, but also upon the desire to bring all men into a unified body politic.

It is not our intention to discuss the question whether this policy has brought inconveniences or not, or whether we have been too liberal in extending political rights. We look at it simply from the point of view of the assimilating influence which has thereby been exercised. The statistical data for this purpose may be arranged under the following four heads:—

(1) What proportion of the foreign born is subjected to this assimilating influence of the exercise of political rights? In other words, how many of the foreign born are naturalized males?

If we look at the statistics of the proportion of foreign-born males of voting age, we shall find that it is greatly in excess of the proportion of the foreign-born persons to the whole population. For the whole United States the proportion is 25.67 per cent of total males 21 years and over; for the North Atlantic division it is 33.23 per cent; for the North Central division it is 30.97 per cent; in Minnesota it is 58.85 per cent.

This would seem to show that the voting strength of the foreign born population is very great, in some of the states more than one-half of the total voting strength of the population. But it must be remembered that all these men are not capable of voting, because many of them have not been naturalized, either because they have not been in this country a sufficient length of time, or because they have no desire to exercise political rights. It is curious to see that in the Western states, where there is the greatest proportion of foreign born, there is also the greatest proportion of them naturalized, showing that the immigration is of an older date, or that the immigrants are more disposed to be naturalized than they are in the Eastern states.

In the whole of the United States only 58.55 per cent of the foreign born have been naturalized, that is, a little more than one-half. In the Western states this proportion ascends to 64.75 per cent, while in the Eastern states it is only 54.32.

TABLE IV.—SHOWING THE VOTING STRENGTH OF THE FOREIGN BORN IN THE UNITED STATES.

	Foreign-Born Males 21 Years and Over to 100 Males 21 Years and Over.	Naturalized to 100 Foreign-Born Males 21 Years and Over.	Naturalized For- eign-Born Males to 100 Males 21 Years and Over.
United States	25.67	58.55	15.02
North Atlantic Division.....	33.23	54.32	18.05
Maine.....	15.14	36.52	5.52
New Hampshire.....	22.05	38.90	8.57
Vermont.....	19.36	46.95	9.08
Massachusetts.....	38.66	43.76	16.91
Rhode Island.....	40.18	38.83	15.60
Connecticut.....	34.99	49.39	17.28
New York.....	38.73	60.74	23.52
New Jersey.....	35.08	60.30	21.15
Pennsylvania.....	27.19	53.19	14.46
North Central Division.....	30.97	64.75	20.05
Ohio.....	21.53	70.28	15.13
Indiana.....	12.33	75.90	9.35
Illinois.....	36.30	62.12	22.60
Michigan.....	40.22	58.76	23.63
Wisconsin.....	52.93	64.71	34.25
Minnesota.....	58.85	63.67	37.46
Iowa.....	29.92	68.89	20.61
Missouri.....	17.11	66.99	11.46
North Dakota.....	64.89	48.87	31.71
South Dakota.....	44.35	66.75	29.60
Nebraska.....	31.80	64.47	20.50
Kansas.....	19.07	69.37	13.22

In Indiana it is 75.90 per cent, in Ohio 70 per cent, in Kansas 69.37 per cent, in Iowa 68 per cent, while in none of these states, except Michigan and North Dakota, does it descend below 60 per cent. On the other hand, in the Eastern states it is between 36.52 per cent in Maine and 60.74 in New York. We find, therefore, that the proportionate number of foreign-born persons actually availing themselves of political rights is much greater in the West than in the East. This would seem to show that the assimilating influence has a better chance in the West than in the East.

(2) What is the real strength of the foreign vote in the

total vote? Is this strength sufficient to enable the foreign vote, if cast solidly, to exert an independent power?

This question is answered by giving the proportion of naturalized foreign-born males of voting age to the total number of males of voting age. These proportions are shown in the preceding table. In the whole of the United States the naturalized foreign-born males of voting age constitute 15.02 per cent of the total potential voting population; in the North Atlantic division, 18.05 per cent; in the North Central division, 20.05 per cent. The actual voting strength is, therefore, not very great. With the exception of three or four Western states, it is about one-fifth. In some of the Eastern states it is insignificant, and in no state has it an absolute majority. It does not seem probable, therefore, that there is any danger of the foreign vote being kept solidly together in such a way as to resist the dissolving influence of American political life. To do so would require very great influence among the leaders, and a similarity of aims among the different nationalities, which does not exist.

A comparison of the figures in the different states shows us a great variety of combinations. In some of them the voting strength is due to the large number of foreigners; in others it is due to the large proportion among the foreigners who are naturalized. For instance, in Pennsylvania only 27 per cent of the voters are foreign-born males, and in Rhode Island 40 per cent; but while in Rhode Island only 38 per cent are naturalized, in Pennsylvania 53 per cent are naturalized, so that the actual voting strength is nearly equal in Pennsylvania to what it is in Rhode Island. There is this difference, however, between the two states, that in Rhode Island the foreign vote may increase rapidly on account of the large number of unnaturalized foreigners, while in Pennsylvania the increase will be much slower.

The general effect of the varying percentage of the naturalized foreign-born males of voting age in the different states is to reduce the effective voting strength of the foreign born,

so that it bears about the same proportion to the whole voting strength as the total number of the foreign born bears to the total population.

TABLE V.—VOTING STRENGTH OF THE FOREIGN BORN IN UNITED STATES
COMPARED WITH PROPORTION OF WHOLE POPULATION.

	Proportion of Naturalized Foreign Born to Total Males 21 Years and Over.	Foreign Born of Total Population.
The United States.	15.02	14.56
North Atlantic Division.....	18.05	22.27
North Central Division.....	20.05	18.13
Minnesota.....	37.46	35.87
Wisconsin.....	34.25	30.77
North Dakota.....	31.71	44.52
South Dakota.....	29.60	27.63
Michigan.....	23.63	25.87
New York.....	23.52	26.11
Illinois.....	22.60	21.98
New Jersey.....	21.15	22.70
Nebraska.....	20.50	19.10
Connecticut.....	17.28	24.54
Massachusetts.....	16.91	20.19
Rhode Island.....	15.60	30.69
Ohio.....	15.13	12.49
Pennsylvania.....	14.46	16.04
Kansas.....	13.22	10.35
Missouri.....	11.46	8.74
Indiana.....	9.35	6.66
Vermont.....	9.08	13.24
New Hampshire.....	8.57	19.18
Maine.....	5.52	11.90

(3) Suppose we add the voters of the second generation of the foreign born to the naturalized foreign-born voters? It is sometimes said that we should include all the descendants in estimating the political strength of the foreign element.

In order to get at this figure we add together the native male whites of foreign parentage, 21 years and over, to the number of the naturalized foreigners. We thus get the foreign vote of two generations. Add to this the native male whites of native parentage, 21 years of age and over, and we

have the total actual white voting strength in the United States. The foreign vote of two generations bears a very large proportion to this total vote, as is seen in the following table:—

TABLE VI.—SHOWING STRENGTH OF FOREIGN VOTE OF TWO GENERATIONS TO TOTAL WHITE VOTE.

	Percentage of Foreign Vote of Two Generations to Total White Vote.	Proportion of Foreign Vote of Two Genera- tions to Native Ameri- can Vote, <i>i. e.</i> , Native Whites, Native Parentage.
United States.	34.77	53.32 to 100
North Atlantic Division.....	41.25	70.23 “
Maine.....	13.97	16.24 “
New Hampshire.....	17.32	20.92 “
Vermont.....	24.31	32.12 “
Massachusetts.....	41.29	70.33 “
Rhode Island.....	42.10	72.73 “
Connecticut.....	39.19	64.46 “
New York.....	52.46	110.38 “
New Jersey.....	44.54	80.31 “
Pennsylvania.....	34.42	52.49 “
North Central Division.....	41.39	70.62 “
Ohio.....	35.76	55.67 “
Indiana.....	22.72	29.40 “
Illinois.....	46.26	86.10 “
Michigan.....	48.26	93.28 “
Wisconsin.....	72.50	263.70 “
Minnesota.....	70.49	238.87 “
Iowa.....	41.84	71.45 “
Missouri.....	27.59	38.10 “
North Dakota.....	68.26	215.13 “
South Dakota.....	55.64	125.45 “
Nebraska.....	38.14	61.65 “
Kansas.....	26.68	36.40 “

In the whole of the United States the foreign vote of two generations is 34.77 per cent of the total vote. In the North Atlantic division it is 41.5 per cent; in the North Central division it is 41.39 per cent; in Wisconsin it is 72.5 per cent; in Kansas it is only 26.68 per cent. The different states show the widest possible contrasts. These contrasts are so great that it is absolutely impossible to believe that the foreign vote

of the two generations is solid. If that were so, two such states as Wisconsin and Kansas would certainly show us very marked differences in their political life. In New York the foreign vote of two generations is more than one-half of the total, while in Pennsylvania it is only one-third. Is there any indication of this in the condition of the two commonwealths? The obvious answer to these queries is that the second generation of voters have been subjected to the solvent influence of American educational and political institutions. It is an indication of the assimilating influence of American life that, where we have these striking differences in the constitution of the population of different states, we do not find corresponding differences in their political life. It needs but little exercise of the imagination to picture how radically and peculiarly these communities would differ from each other if the process of assimilation had not gone on, if the second, or even the first, generation had retained the habits, customs, and feelings of their native land. This same picture enables us to realize how powerful the assimilating force has been.

(4) The fourth arrangement of figures is intended to show the relation of the voters of the second generation to the naturalized foreign-born voters. For, if the second generation has felt the influence of American life, its strength, as compared to the foreign born, is a matter of great importance. We find in the United States that for every one hundred naturalized voters there are 84.45 native voters of foreign parentage. In the North Atlantic division the proportion is 90.23 per cent to 100. In the Western states it is not generally so great as in the Eastern, but even in Wisconsin there are 71.37 voters of the second generation to 100 of the first.

Such are the statistical data which may be of use to us in measuring the force of political privileges in assimilating different nationalities in this country. The process by which we shall study the use of these statistics belongs to the second part of this investigation.

TABLE VII.—SHOWING THE VOTING STRENGTH OF THE NATURALIZED FOREIGN BORN AND THE NATIVE BORN OF FOREIGN PARENTAGE.

	Relation Native Born Foreign Parentage Vote to Naturalized Vote.		Relation Native Born Foreign Parentage Vote to Naturalized Vote.
United States.....	84.45 to 100	North Central Division....	79.45 to 100
North Atlantic Division....	90.23 “	Ohio.....	155.30 “
Maine.....	127.84 “	Indiana.....	130.36 “
New Hampshire.....	74.48 “	Illinois.....	73.16 “
Vermont.....	139.30 “	Michigan.....	68.51 “
Massachusetts.....	88.78 “	Wisconsin.....	71.37 “
Rhode Island.....	97.89 “	Minnesota.....	46.96 “
Connecticut.....	82.96 “	Iowa.....	82.13 “
New York.....	86.51 “	Missouri.....	114.23 “
New Jersey.....	74.20 “	North Dakota.....	43.30 “
Pennsylvania.....	102.34 “	South Dakota.....	59.45 “
		Nebraska.....	62.55 “
		Kansas.....	83.48 “

THE REACTIVE INFLUENCE ON THE IMMIGRANT OF COMING
TO THIS COUNTRY.

It would be of importance for our purpose if we could determine whether transplanting to this country modifies the characteristics of the foreign-born population. Such modification might render the process of assimilation easier, or it might be such as to render the influence of the foreign born much smaller.

These statistics are very difficult and uncertain. It is impossible to indicate here more than the general line of investigation.

The reactive influence may be either physiological, economic, or social.

THE PHYSIOLOGICAL influence should be seen in a change in the birth rates, death rates, marriage rates, or sickness or disease rates. No exact statistics show as yet any of these things for the foreign born. We have only indirect evidence. It seems to me probable that the foreign born have no excessive death rate after coming to this country. From the

Massachusetts Census it seems probable that the foreign-born married women have a larger number of children than the native-born married women, but that a greater proportion of them die.

ECONOMIC EFFECT. The economic effect of the change of condition is probably very great. Two lines of inquiry would seem to be profitable in this connection. One is that the immigrants change their occupations after coming to this country. The great mass of them when they come are unskilled laborers. Among the foreign born in 1880 34.89 per cent were engaged in manufactures and mechanical and mining industry, 13.15 per cent in trade and transportation, 28.62 per cent in professional and personal services. The second fact is that while the immigrants are largely from agricultural districts the foreign born in this country are, 44.13 per cent of them, found in large cities. This change from rural to urban life must have some effect, and this effect might be traced back for the different nationalities.

SOCIAL EFFECTS. These can be traced out principally from the statistics of crime, pauperism, and illiteracy. I shall not enter into this subject except to say that from all the statistics the conclusion seems to be justified that criminality is somewhat more prevalent among the foreign born and those of foreign descent than among those of native descent, but this excess is not so great as to enable us to say that the influence of migration is to increase the tendency of crime.

TABLE VIII. — SHOWING PROPORTION OF FOREIGN-BORN ADULT PRISONERS AND OF FOREIGN-BORN ADULTS.

	Foreign-Born Male Prisoners of Total Male Prisoners.	Per Cent of Foreign-Born Males 18 Years of Age and Over of Total Males 18 Years of Age and Over.
United States.....	26.22	26.38
North Atlantic Division.....	31.69	32.21
South Atlantic Division.....	10.12	6.82
North Central Division.....	22.55	29.75
South Central Division.....	15.25	8.39
Western Division.....	32.18	36.07

The statistics of pauperism are more unfavorable to the foreign born, but this is natural considering that they are largely from among the lower classes.

The third division of this inquiry would be to trace the influence of the foreign born on the native American. Just as in the previous case, this influence might be such as to make the process of union easier, or it might be such as to render the influence of the native born much smaller.

These influences would, as in the previous case, be either physiological, economic, or social. The general line of inquiry would be the same, and in many cases the two inquiries would run into each other. This would be the case with the theory that immigration into this country has decreased the natural rate of growth among the native born. This can only be studied in connection with the previous question of the natural increase of the foreign born. So in the same way the economic influence is felt by the crowding in of the foreign born and the displacement of American labor. The effect of this may be either to drive American labor into higher occupations, or to force it to a lower plane of living. These inquiries are interesting and important. The statistics of pauperism do not seem to show that the competition of the foreign born has as yet had a fatal influence upon the natives. Social effects would require tracing out in the same way in the statistics of crime.

CONCLUSION.

It has been my intention to give in this paper simply an indication of the statistical data which I believe might be used to give us a better foundation for a theory of the mixture of nationalities and races than we yet have. I reserve for a second paper the consideration of what facts of observation should be brought into connection with these statistical data in order to give us the desired result. The method in this second part will be an investigation of the legislation and institutions of different states, with the view of ascertain-

ing if the varying proportion of the three elements of population which we have analyzed in this paper makes itself in any way felt. I have already, at various points in this paper, hinted at the way this comparison should be made, and I believe that we can already foreshadow certain general results as follows: —

(1) The process of assimilation is going on in this country, and is going on very effectually and rapidly, or else there would be differences between different communities, which would be obvious to the most superficial observation.

(2) Particular race or national character does not have a controlling and permanent influence on the institutions of this country, else we should find sections peopled by foreigners of different nationalities much more strongly marked by the peculiarities of those nationalities than we do.

(3) Physical environment does not seem to have an influence which can be distinctly traced on the institutions, except in the way of developing the same general character among the inhabitants, as mentioned in the introduction.

(4) The assimilating influences are principally social, that is, the influence of institutions already established, of the dominant language, and of the customs of the original inhabitants.

If these conclusions could in any degree be established, it would bring about an important modification in the sociological and philosophical theory of the influence of race character.

It would also have important practical consequences in teaching us what restrictions, if any, should be placed on immigration, and what influences should be especially encouraged for the purpose of developing a unified nationality in this country.